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wife. That may simply have been an attempt to justify the fact that his wife was a good deal older than himself and that probably his sexual interests were minimal. 581

One of the prime requisites in a wife is that she be industrious. Whenever either men or women expressed what they considered the most prized qualifications in a partner, they generally agreed that women should work hard and that men should be rich. Obviously physical beauty enters also, but it is not a verbalized prerequisite. Beauty consists for both men and women of a light skin, small eyes, and wavy hair. In women firm, well-rounded breasts are admired and in men muscular strength. Actually it is extremely difficult to get a direct expression of judgment on anyone's appearance, since this belongs to the category of intimate remarks, of indiscretions, that it is essential to avoid. Early in my stay I threw a group of adults into considerable embarrassment by asking them to name the handsome men and women of the community. In the realm of physical attractiveness, cleanliness too is prized, and one of the indications of the adolescent interest in marriage is more frequent bathing and greater attention to hair combing. Once a woman marries and becomes a stable family member, too much cleanliness is looked upon askance as a token of flightiness. [541] [526] [576] [581] [515]

The ideal, if not the normal matron is a woman who spends her whole working day in the field and in housework, minds her own business, is careless of her appearance, and goes to outlying fields with some reliable female companion. Needless to say, a great many women are not typical in this ideal sense of the word. Actually, vigorous, aggressive women who show masculine skills in finance and debate are referred to admiringly as men-women (*neng-meyoa*). Men with poor memories often rely on their wives to help them keep track of their financial involvements and they even send them on minor financial errands. Vice versa, men who possess female skills and aptitudes in gardening, gathering wood, cooking, and basketry may be referred to as women-men (*meyoa-neng*). Women usually speak with praise of a man who is skilful and diligent in horticulture and, contrariwise, women complain of men's lack of assistance in the fields almost as much as they do of their financial peccadilloes. In these cross-references from one sex to the other there are none of the derogatory connotations that go with our phrases of mannish woman or womanish man. It is evident, therefore, that theory stresses sex differences in activities, property ownership, and ideal types but that both sexes may, and often do, possess each other's capabilities without any particular onus being attached to the fact. 562 [183] [554] [554]

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336 It is not expedient in this volume to elaborate institutional descrip-
571 tions of various wealth activities. The gist of the foregoing pages has
182 been to show a portion of that realm of activity concerned with wealth and hostility and to demonstrate some of the ways in which wealth may be used to express both status and aggression as well as to assist in the restraint of overt physical violence. It shows finally what happens when wealth fails to serve as an adequate check on anger. It has been evident that wealth situations may in themselves provoke extremes of violence. It is also evident that where extremes of violence have broken out, wealth again enters the picture to moderate an excessive multiplication of retaliations. All this discussion has been phrased largely in institutional forms. Only the man who is thoroughly successful financially can utilize such forms to the full, and obviously all men cannot be fully successful.

336 From observation some twelve middle-aged men of the Five Villages
571 stood out as persons of particular financial power. These twelve men had six brothers among them who collaborated with them and were considered wealthy and powerful by association. This gives, as a rough estimate, some eighteen powerful men out of an adult male population of about one hundred and twelve. Those who must occupy the less privileged positions, I have called satellites for want of a better word. The society has no term to designate them, as the first paragraphs of this chapter indicated. These men function as allies and servitors of the more successful. They are depended upon when a show of strength is needed, on occasions like the ceremonial delivery of a dowry payment, a burial, or when labor is required for the building of a lineage house. At a large feast they do the slaughtering and cooking of meat. In bringing articles of value into the village they help dance in the object. In other words, whenever a crowd effect is needed or labor is required they lend assistance.

● 341 This assistance is particularly necessary where, as we have seen, a
336 show of strength in physical and financial affairs is what counts. In addition, the wealthier and more important a man is, the more he considers physical labor beneath his dignity. Visiting, sitting, talking, and chewing betel are the only physical exertions worthy of a man aware of his importance. The very fact that one goes in for muscular labor
[341] makes one's status suspect. Muscular labor is the role of women and the
339 young. Usually satellites have more or less remote kin affiliations with
342 the powerful man to whom they are attached. In return for their assist-
571 ance they receive loyalty and protection in those financial involvements to which every married male is more or less exposed. It is not

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333 177 One source of status and distinction is not included on a current list of minor skills; that is, bravery in war. Before the pacification of the island by the Hollanders a man might gain distinction through wealth or warfare. Today only wealth remains. For the successful warrior a special status term exists that means essentially a "killer," a "bad man" (*kiki*). Seers also have a special status term (*tinang*).

359 At present in Atimelang only two men are definitely at the nonprivileged end of the scale. One is a man about forty years old who has never married and never distinguished himself in any way. The other is a young simpleton who still associates with boys and is a docile servitor to his elder kin. Otherwise, even outsiders and poor men are to some extent involved, or hoping to become involved, in the competitive system. Perhaps this is one reason, combined with others, that skills are on so low a level in the community. The foregoing list of people known for special abilities indicates the poverty of the range. It does not, however, indicate the triviality of the reward. Such skills may serve to identify their possessors, but little more. They are not substitutes for wealth, and the power they give over other people is minimal. They may arouse a modicum of respect but they give no true prestige.

● [461]

786 383 The seer has opportunities for wielding social power, but that power, though real, is covert. The payments he gets for curing are so small that they serve only as a supplementary source of income. His position is reminiscent of the more academic scientists in our culture, whose power is indirect and whose reward financially is not comparable to that of a "captain of industry." In the autobiographies are the histories of two seers, a man and a woman. I have the impression that they are both people with a considerable desire for power who are using the role of seer to inflate their own image of themselves because the financial role is largely blocked. Rīpadu's life history and dreams deserve special study from that point of view.

461 It could be argued that such substitutive gratifications might be expected to flourish in a society where the cultural goal is so often associated with frustrations and difficulties. That they do not may be symptomatic of a general underdevelopment of memory techniques. It is patent that in practically all specialties there is a singular slovenliness of achievement. Maikaliera, who is listed as a man distinguished for gardening, planted a field far too large for his labor resources for weeding it. A careful study I made of his expenditures in gardening feasts and of his returns revealed that he had lost out in the enterprise, although he did not seem aware of the fact.

Carvings of village guardian spirits, familiars, and the like are all

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Carvings of village guardian spirits, familiars, and the like are of singularly crude, and no value is attached to them once they have been used for sacrificial purposes. It is not unusual to see these "sacred" carvings lying on the ground rotting away. (It was always considered a windfall to be able to sell me one. Also, I found it impossible to appeal to pride in order to procure good specimens for the museum collection I was making, and only by repeatedly refusing to pay for the poor ones did I get better examples of handicrafts.)

Although they are capable of building large and imposing houses, about a third of the houses were of the shed or field-hut type, which can be thrown together in a few days. Even an imposing new lineage house will have the edges of its thatch torn to shreds within a year by its owners, who pull out a handful whenever they want a torch at night. As I have already indicated, tattooing and tooth blackening are so unskillfully done that they fail frequently to be permanent. Basketry is of the simplest sort, with a minimum of overlay decorations. The Atimelangers have never acquired the arts of weaving known on the coast, of pottery produced in villages not two hours away, or of *cire perdue* casting known in the eastern part of the island. This is true despite the fact that they know the processes fairly well, and there are no taboos or restrictions that I could discover against the practice of such crafts.

Their mythology is confused and unstructuralized. Their knowledge of genealogies is so deficient that many individuals do not know their more remote Male House kin. Ceremonial procedure is almost always a source of fumbling and of heated argument as to proper procedure. In respect to some of these items, it is possible that they represent newly or partially introduced features which were not clearly understood in the first place, or else features that were survivalistic. Regardless of the possible historical situation, the fact remains that little is done by way of elaboration and integration, and no effort is made to master the resources of the environment.

From the point of view of depth psychology all this might well point to a weakness in ego development. This would be in agreement with my suggestions in the preceding chapters, that it is precisely in the realm of ego development that the Atimelang child suffers the greatest handicaps and receives the least encouragement. The rewards are few and meager in childhood as well as in adult life. Men want to be rich; they may have the drive, but more than drive is necessary for successful accomplishment. Consistent training and the assurance of reward (or penalty) are essential to learning. These two factors are largely absent. It is not astonishing, therefore, that so many men accept the